

Will There Be a Greater Armageddon?

Germany Is Uncrushed and May Try Again

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WHETHER has recently talked with Europeans has often been conscious of a certain latent depression on their part which is not due to disorganized industry, public debts, ravages of war or dread of revolution. Over the entire future there seems to hang the shadow of another world war that is possible and even probable, and the opinion prevails that if it should come it would be more savage and destructive than the recent one.

As the imagination paints the coming struggle, it will be modern in its fighting instruments, but prehistoric in its practices. It will improve on the guns, shells, gases, air craft, tanks and submarines, and will use them in the spirit of the Neanderthal man, throwing justice and humanity to the winds wherever this will increase the chance of success. It will be bloodier than the war that has "bled the nations white," and will add women and children unreservedly to its victims. Cities that it has touched will look like the villages that stood in the track of the Hun, and if this sounds like the phantom of an alarmist imagination one has only to recall what war has actually done, and make allowance for its increased power and will to do devils' work. The savagery that has gone to such lengths already will not balk at going further, if success requires it, and the means of going much further will be at hand. To know that such a war were soon coming might drive mankind to despair, and finding it probable within a decade or two fully accounts for much half-conscious depression.

Is such a fate really in store for the youth and childhood of to-day? Does any country desire such a war and intend to begin it? Not if it would have to be fought on even terms. That would mean practical annihilation for the contending armies and for civil populations within the fighting zone. In the immediate future, in any case, general fighting will have to be suspended, but how long will this immunity last? After the Napoleonic wars there were a hundred years of comparative peace, but he would be wildly sanguine who should look for any such period now, and it is safe

to say that a score of years or less may precipitate a greater Armageddon. It may come at about the time that the toddling little child of to-day is of full military age, or it may come earlier and take the child's father and his older brother.

Possible Alternatives

There are substantial grounds for an opinion as to the events of the next few years, and a few of them are self-evident: (1) A warlike nation under the sting of defeat will be eager to recover its territory and its power. (2) If it has undertaken to pay a crushing indemnity it will be eager to throw off that burden and place it on its enemies. Dollars counted in billions, it is better to receive than to give. (3) It can hope to accomplish this if it can build up a fighting league of nations. (4) When a strong combination of this kind has been formed success in a war will depend on quick action. The expert gunman has his victim at his mercy because he can shoot him before the other can finish fumbling with his gun, and so has a state that, in its entirety, is like the gunman while its enemies are like the tenderfoot. If Germany in her present mood is ever able to do that to her conquerors she will do it, unless her whole attitude and character change.

A distinguished Bavarian recently wrote that "the terms imposed on Germany make another war certain in the near future, and it will be far more terrible than the recent one." Hindenburg calls Germany "a giant who has been thrown down, but not disabled," and says that he "has only to rise and take his revenge." Before the peace treaty has been ratified there have been signs that the giant is beginning to make some preparation for the rising, and it is not alarmism but the plainest of common sense which declares that the security of western Europe depends on the possession of power enough to prevent it. That means a defensive league too strong and too firmly united to be attacked.

As to Germany

Germany will not enter on a struggle that would obviously mean annihilation for both of the contending forces. She will try to make as sure of a quick victory as she thought she was when she attacked France and Russia under the impression that Great Britain would be

IS ANOTHER world war lurking on the horizon? Yes, says Dr. John Bates Clark, professor of political economy at Columbia University and head of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace:

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neutral and Italy probably on her side. If neither army has the start of the other—if the two rush into the field in Napoleonic fashion—both of them will march to destruction about as certainly as though they were plunging from opposite banks into the Niagara River just above the Horseshoe Fall. In the minds of many persons there is a hazy picture of such a fate in store for their children, if not for themselves, and very few who see it at all locate its coming at any distant time, since long waiting would weaken the will to fight and strengthen the will to work, trade and thrive by the arts of peace. It is, therefore, within the score of years that are directly before us that the greatest peril lies.

After Russia had withdrawn from the war and America had come into it a Japanese statesman who was in this country said to an American friend: "You will beat certainly in the end, for you have the greatest resources; but it will not be within two years or any small number, for Germany will control Russia from this time on." The prediction was not verified as to dates, for the war was finished in the two years from the time when it was uttered and Germany failed then to control Russia. What the Japanese counted on—that Russia would soon figure heavily on the German side, while America would be slow in counting on the Allied side—was the reverse of what happened. Germany had not time to grasp and use the forces of Russia before American power decided the contest against her. But what is the situation now? There is now time for Germany to do what she then left undone. She can gather in vast resources, both material and human, from the states made out of Russian and Balkan lands. Economic control, political influence, command of supplies, and, finally, command of auxiliary troops—all



Professor John Bates Clark

this there is time to grasp in the years that are before her. A map of Europe which shows the great zone over which, by peaceful penetration, federation and quasi annexation, the power of Germany may extend shows at a glance how insignificant is the domain that Germany has lost in comparison with what she is in a way to gain. It is on the success of this movement—the march eastward and southward of German power under forms of peace—that the whole future of the world depends. Can the Western nations of Europe build up a power

that is equal to the one just described? Not if this Germanizing operation is allowed to make much headway, and yet it must manage to do it if the world is long secure against German conquest.

If—in 1914

In a highly interesting work entitled "How the War Came" Lord Lorburne has shown that, if the government of England, in July of 1914, had been able to say decidedly "We will come to the help of France if you attack her," the attack would not have been made and the war

would have been avoided; and yet England was already committed to France in a way that bound her in honor to just such a course. It was because she was estopped from frankly saying so that the war occurred. What is needed is a peace loving power strong enough to beat an aggressive one, if attacked by it, and not only able to declare its purpose to do so at the proper time, but so fully and openly committed to this policy that any nation intending to play the bully will know what it has to face.

A large group of great nations, ready to fight for the freedom of any member, would, in all probability, never have to fight at all, while a weak or irresolute group would have fighting forced upon it to its own destruction. Where the will to conquer exists the power to do it is all that is needed to insure a war of conquest, and there is small hope for peace with freedom in Europe, and very little for it anywhere, in a world in which Germany, with her present purpose, gets a reponderating power. It is as indispensable that the order-loving states of the world should be dominant as it is that the order-loving tigers of a single state or city should be so.

Do we realize under what a vast inducement to renew the war Germany finds herself? Colossal debt, trade restricted, colonial territory lost, ambitions rudely thwarted, an intolerable subjection imposed—that if all this could be undone by a quick and successful attack on separate and unwary enemies? What if Germany could regain her territories with a vast new area, strip rivals of colonies and put the war debt on them? What if "Deutschland" could become "über alles" instead of "unter alles"? The motive for a war that would do all this for her is overwhelming, but how about the power? It is in sight, but not in possession, and it is on the question whether it will be in possession that the fate of the world depends. The subject state will become master if it can and it will put no limit on the ef-

Only a Fighting League Can Curb Her

fort and the sacrifice that the achievement will cost. Let us put ourselves into the German position outlined in the following paragraph and mentally plan a natural course of action.

"As Germans we must bring Austria into the empire with her territories restored. Let us bring Russia, the Balkans and the new border states into our sphere of influence, and form a league that will control both Central and Eastern Europe. How much then shall we have to fear from the nations of the West? How much shall we gain by attacking them? Can they enforce the guarantees that the peace treaty has put upon us and stop our military preparations? Can they prevent us from marshaling the fighting forces that lie to the east of us, and hold us in our place as merely a single great state? Not unless they can make a league stronger than the one that we are already beginning to create. If they can do this it is possible that the peace may be lasting, and in the long run, when our wrath has subsided, we ourselves may even wish to uphold it. Successful industry may give us very much and may end by making us peaceful citizens of the world. It will go hard, however, with any weak Western alliance if we can beat it before we have learned to content ourselves with the peaceful conquests. In a weak league of nations or none whatever lies our present hope of quicker and cheaper gains. Let us act on the principle that Tacitus attributes to the Germans of his day, our ancestors, that 'it is a disgrace to gain by labor what can more easily be gained by the sword.'"

The Need for a League

If this view of the German attitude and purpose is true or half true, it means the necessity for a very strong league of Western nations as the sole hope for peace with freedom. Does it mean, however, that crude force will be the only guarantee or the chief one? An essential guarantee it certainly is to-day, and it will continue to be so for some years to come, but if there is anything in the human race that gives it the title to own and enjoy this planet at all force will be very far from furnishing the sole basis of peace. There is something better in store for the world than a neck-and-neck rivalry of two leagues, leading to a final struggle between them. The immeasurable blessings from international union and friendship are the largest factor in the situation. A community of nations has value, moral and material, for every state that is a member of it. As a single state organization has immeasurable value for individual citizens, enabling them to enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," so a world

organization, imperfect as it may be, may confer a like blessing on its constituent states. The very rudimentary world community which existed through the last century did much in this direction for its several members, and a league more definitely organized can do more.

It is not to be supposed that three great countries of Western Europe will in economic ways isolate themselves from the lesser states and from their late enemies. Paramount above all military problems will be the economic ones which every such state will have to face.

In what connection will its economic life be best developed? How will the crushing burdens which the war has left behind it be most readily borne? How, in the case of each country, will commercial and financial access to the world at large be most readily secured? The Western countries of Europe have a vast amount to offer to their smaller neighbors as well as to the states of the East. Germany has an advantage over rivals in trade within Russian and Balkan territories, and her commerce with them may be expected to grow accordingly, but that is as far as possible from meaning that the new states will willingly surrender their independence and the advantages which membership in the economic community of the world will give them. They will wish that any league that they join shall be one that is a democracy of nations rather than a group of vassal-like states under an ambitious overlord that will use them to extend its own conquests. The sense of freedom the world over will stand kinship with the powers that stand for freedom. Deep in the psychology of nations are forces, moral and material, that will make for permanent peace, if only the states that have won the war can make themselves the nucleus of a large, permanent union.

In the long run this applies to Germany itself. Membership in the world empire will be worth much to her, and it would be strange pessimism to suppose that her people are so unlike others that, in the long run, they will not yield to that influence. The country that to-day stands for a menace to the rest of the world will be a valuable member of an international league from the time when, in feeling, in purpose and in economic interest, she becomes fitted for such citizenship. Evolution tends powerfully to bring her to that condition in which she has too much to receive from the international brotherhood and too much to give to it to make the life of a moral outlaw and bully attractive. In the distance, indeed, but in the line of our present movement, lies the "federation of the world."

Getting the Y. M. C. A. Back on a Peace Time Basis

WEDNESDAY 5,000 delegates will convene in Detroit to determine the future policy of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada. These delegates will represent a constituency of more than 1,000,000 active members, and will be augmented by a large percentage of the 80,000 men and women who wore Red Triangle uniforms during the late and unlamented war.

A great American organization, which was subjected but yesterday to the artificial enlargement and the terrific executive strain of world-wide war service, is going to have the spotlight turned on it from some of the most coldly critical minds in the country.

Handling, as it does, millions of dollars of the public's money, what the association will adopt as its permanent post-war program has aroused widespread interest.

A well known soldier-editor of the A. E. F. summed up his feelings thus a day or two ago:

"I'm curious to know a lot of things that may sound small, but aren't."

"Is the Y. M. C. A. going to learn a lesson from its overseas work and remove the old ban on smoking in its buildings?"

"Is it going to decide that dancing, which didn't hurt the doughboy

noticeably or make the 'Y' girl less respected, is all right in the U. S. A.?"

"Is it going to cease to frown on Sunday amusements?"

The head of a financial journal of international repute had this question to ask:

"Is the Y. M. C. A. going to do anything specific to help toward industrial content, especially through the medium of Americanizing foreign-born workmen and their families?"

Other people by the thousand, most of whom have given money at one time or another to the association, are asking questions. Preachers are asking lots of them, but let that pass for a moment.

The doughboy-editor is certain to get a fine display of oratorical fireworks for his answer, unless debate is smothered in committee. The very queries he has put were sent out in questionnaire form by the Commission on the Conservation of Work Values, headed by Joseph T. Alling, Rochester financier, and counting among its members Guy F. Benton, William Sloane Coffin, Harry Emerson Fosdick and Bishop Luther B. Wilson.

Besides setting forth the lessons the war taught in regard to tobacco, dancing and Sunday amusements, Mr. Alling's commission is going to report on weightier matters, and the editor who wants specific information on an economic program will get a full reply. The demountable hut which the Y. M. C. A. scattered over the world from 1914 to 1918 and

with the \$4,500,000 worth of which the War Department has just been presented for the peace-time use of the army is likely to appear, if suggestions are followed, in factories and mill villages; in lumber, mining

and construction camps; in suburban and rural community centers; even in amusement parks and at county fairs.

It is conceded that the wholesale use of the motion picture, already

present conditions? Existing laws may make that impossible, but the war has shown that it is possible to change existing laws.

Here, within a distance considerably less than many commuters travel daily, we have more than five hundred buildings—with electric lights, steam heat, modern plumbing, good roads and cement walks. The steam heat is obtained from a central plant similar to ones used in many cities, and even in a certain lower part of Manhattan.

Various fire apparatus is distributed throughout in addition to regular departments.

A laundry with more than \$40,000 worth of the most modern equipment would surely help to make Monday less blue.

Mess halls could easily be converted into restaurants and the bakery, with a capacity of three thousand loaves of bread an hour, plus hundreds of pies, might conceivably be used to advantage. The heated drill hall, 500 feet long and 200 feet wide, is one of the largest frame structures in the world. The roof trusses span 100

feet, making it necessary for but a single row of columns down the center. This magnificent edifice would make an ideal social center for various large gatherings, dances, athletic competitions and playgrounds.

Smaller community gatherings, social events, movies and semi-private affairs could be held in the former Y. M. C. A. K. of C., or Jewish Welfare buildings.

The portion of this camp nearest New York is directly on the Boston Post Road and contains more than two hundred buildings. One hundred and forty-four of these are twenty-six feet wide and ninety-nine feet long. Some of the remaining sixty-odd buildings are considerably larger.

More than 1,500 carloads of material, not including 80 scowloads and truckloads too numerous to mention, were used in the erection of these 200 buildings. To supply the necessary 160,000 square feet of radiation to insure a comfortable temperature, there are 70,000 feet of pipe, ranging in size from one-fourth inch to ten inches. The plumbing required 130,000 feet and

operating through the "Y" Industrial Department in hundreds of manufacturing plants throughout the nation, will be recommended, and that a program of education involving millions of dollars and

bringing brain training to the door of every workman will be urged on the delegates. The need of rural America for social centers corresponding to city clubs will not be forgotten, nor the ever-present call

of the growing boy for fun and sound leadership.

A remarkable challenge to service has been flung the association from European and Asiatic governments, including France, Italy, Belgium, Greece, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Armenia and Palestine. The Commission on the Occupation of the Field, including Lewis A. Crosssett, Boston shoe manufacturer, who is chairman; George W. Perkins, Roger H. Williams, Dr. D. H. McAlpin and Governor Carl E. Miliken of Maine, will advise regarding the acceptance by the "Y" of more than a score of official requests for service. South America, too, has applied for greatly enlarged association work.

One of the features of the Detroit meeting will be the exhibit of "Y" war work beginning with the Civil War and extending through all phases of aid rendered the United States and the Allies. A large hut has been built to house the exhibit. The art panels in it are said to be unusually fine mural specimens and the photographic files of several continents have been culled for wall displays.

A French Legion of Honor medal, six medals of the Order of the British Empire, the Belgian Cross of the Queen, six French war crosses, two Greek Orders of the Redeemer, two Distinguished Service medals and a personal citation from Pershing for "distinguished and exceptional gallantry" will be presented at the convention. These will bring the total of "Y" war work honors to 196 decorations, 171 citations and 141 commendations. Out of about 13,000 secretaries overseas, 508

were decorated or cited in person by American and Allied commanders or rulers.

The preachers are more than going to have their say at the convention. Many of them have openly charged that the Y. M. C. A. functioned too little as a religious organization overseas and have pointed to the National War Work Council's own report as evidence. The report shows that only 2 per cent of the "Y's" war-time expenditure was for religious supplies and the cost of religious meetings. On the other hand, persons who particularly stress the economic and social possibilities in the "Y" have raised the cry of too much religion.

To tie the organization definitely to the best religious leadership in the country and at the same time keep it of general service and appeal to the lay public, a mixed commission of prominent divines and business men was appointed. Dr. W. Douglas Mackenzie, of Hartford, is chairman, and the commission includes F. W. Ayer, famous advertising man; Judge V. Lane, of Ann Arbor, Mich.; Bishop Coadjuutor Frank Du Moulin, of Toledo; Bishop Thomas Nicholson, of Chicago, and Dr. Ernest M. Stires, of New York.

Colonel W. C. Johnson, chief athletic officer of the A. E. F., will tell the convention what mass games accomplished for the army and what he believes they can accomplish for civilians. Secretary of the Navy Daniels will make a general address and Commander C. B. Mayo will speak in his official capacity as welfare officer of the navy. Colonel Jason Joy will represent the morale branch of the army.

If Rents Are High, Why Not Live in An Army Camp?